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ABSTRACT

A survey of 129 Haitians enrolled in English for Speakers of Other Languages classes in Miami, Florida, revealed that common stereotypes about Miami Haitians are wrong in virtually every respect. In fact, Miami Haitians are not a significant drain on community resources. They did not come to the United States anticipating benefits from the welfare system. They are not uneducated nor are they unskilled. To the contrary, Miami Haitians have a tremendous potential for productively contributing to United States society. They are well educated by Haitian standards and many come with readily employable skills. Their motivations for leaving Haiti are inseparably both political and economic. They possess a sound work ethic and are striving to improve themselves. Economic problems are severe, yet they confront and surmount them with virtually no help from the State welfare system. They rely largely upon opportunities and resources within Miami's own Haitian community. Yet, they do not isolate themselves from the large community around them. They work with, buy from, and live in the same neighborhoods as Cubans, Anglos, and American Blacks. In spite of the many personal difficulties they have encountered since arriving in the United States, they maintain a positive view of themselves and their experiences in United States society. If given sufficient opportunities, they are likely to adapt quickly and succeed economically. (KH)

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HAITIANS IN MIAMI

AN ASSESSMENT OF THEIR BACKGROUND AND POTENTIAL

Dialogue # 12

December, 1982

Occasional Papers Series
DIALOGUES

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AN ASSESSMENT OF THEIR BACKGROUND AND POTENTIAL

Dialogue # 12

December, 1982

By: Alex Stepick
Tom Brott
Dan Clapp
Donna Cook
Jockesta Megi

PREFACE

The following research report was written by Professor Alex Stepick, Assistant Professor of Sociology/Anthropology, in collaboration with departmental undergraduate majors Tom Brott, Dan Clapp, Donna Cook and Research Assistant Jockesta Megi. Their work represents a pioneering study on the local Haitian community and its socioeconomic characteristics.

Publication of this study within LACC's Occasional Papers Series Dialogues (OPSD) will serve to better inform interested parties and spur debate on the specific case of Haitian migration and adaptation. This study is the latest work on migration and migrants in South Florida to be published by LACC in the OPSD series. Others have dealt with Haitian, as well as Cuban and other emigrant groups in the region.

Mark B. Rosenberg
Director

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Our research on Haitians in Miami reveals the common stereotypes to be wrong in virtually every respect. Miami Haitians are not a significant drain on community resources. They did not come to the U.S. anticipating benefits from the welfare system. They are not uneducated nor are they unskilled. To the contrary, Miami Haitians have a tremendous potential for productively contributing to U.S. society. They are well educated by Haitian standards and many come with readily employable skills. Their motivations for leaving Haiti are inseparably both political and economic. They possess a sound work ethic and are striving to improve themselves. Economic problems are severe, yet they confront and surmount them with virtually no help from the state welfare system. They rely largely upon opportunities and resources within Miami's own Haitian community. Yet, they do not isolate themselves from the large community around them. They work with, buy from, and live in the same neighborhoods as Cubans, Anglos, and American Blacks. In spite of the many personal difficulties they have encountered since arriving in the U.S., they maintain a positive view both of themselves and their experiences in U.S. society. If given sufficient opportunities, they are likely to adapt quickly and succeed economically.

These findings stem from a recently completed survey of 129 Haitians enrolled in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes in Miami administered by the Haitian Adult Development Education Program (HADEP) of the Phelps Stokes Fund. The U.S. Department of Education funded the project to provide instruction in English communication and literacy skills, acculturation support and vocational training. The classes were free and open without restrictions to all Haitians. The Haitians neither paid nor received money to attend the classes. The classes were offered both during the day and evening and drew from all levels of the Haitian population in Miami. The survey was administered in June and July of this year and consisted of 146 questions in Creole on a broad range of subjects from background and experiences in Haiti to migration and employment history and perceptions of U.S. society.

Motivation

The most obvious measure of the Haitians' profound motivation and willingness to assume risk is their migration to the U.S. Over 75% of the sample came on boats risking the 700 miles through uncertain seas.

Their enrollment in the ESOL program is another indicator of their desire for self-improvement. The majority indicated they enrolled in the class because they wanted to learn English, while nearly half indicated that they also enrolled because they believed it would help them obtain a better job. For most, learning English and finding employment are inseparable. English is the means to obtain a job.

The respondents are not content to learn just English. Over 50% of the sample indicated that they would also like to learn Spanish. Rather than being monolingual Haitian Creole speakers, struggling with English, many of this group are well on the their way to becoming tri- or even quadri-lingual (Creole, French, English, and Spanish). Furthermore, virtually all the respondents want their children to learn English.

The Haitians are also doing rather well in the ESOL classes. The teachers and other program personnel invariably commented on the Haitian students extraordinary dedication and commitment to their lessons. They also performed very well on an objective test we administered as part of the survey. We discovered that their knowledge of English, as measured by our objective test, did not depend upon the ethnicity of the students' teachers (Haitian or American), nor upon the particular location of their classes, nor upon the particular type of post-primary education they may have received in Haiti. It was likely to improve somewhat, however, as the number of years of formal schooling in Haiti increased.

Positive Outlook

The Haitians are highly satisfied with the life they have had so far in the U.S.: 87.1% responded that they were completely or very satisfied with life in the U.S., while 84.3% were similarly satisfied with life in Miami.

They are also positive about their ESOL classes and the services offered by the program: 92.6% indicated they were completely satisfied and another 6.3% claimed they were very satisfied with their English classes. They expressed similarly high ratings for those who had used the counseling, employment and referral services offered by the ESOL program. Only 13.6% were neutral or less than satisfied with the counseling; 13% felt similarly for the agency referral services they received; and,

everyone who used the employment referrals was either very or completely satisfied with the services received.

Background

Those Haitians surveyed do not come from uniformaly poor backgrounds; they are not the least skilled in Haitian society; they are not illiterate; they were not farmers; they are not from the most isolated, improverished regions of Haiti. In short, they have skills potentially adaptable to the U.S. economic environment.

Virtually equal numbers were born in the impoverished Northwest Department (34.6%) and the most developed West Department which has the nation's capital, Port-au-Prince (33.7%).

The urban versus rural comparisons of birthplace are even more interesting. The majority, 52.1%, were born in villages; however, 35.5% were born in medium size cities and 12.4% were born in Port-au-Prince.

Close examination of those either born in or having lived in different size cities reveals an even greater trend towards urban experience. Nearly 40% of the migrants were either born or have lived in Port-au-Prince; 32.6% were born or lived in a medium size city; and only 30.2% have spent all their lives in villages.

The migrants are largely one generation removed from peasant roots. Over 62% of the migrants' fathers were engaged in agriculture, but only 5.5% of the migrants themselves were farmers. Almost 20% of the migrants' fathers had semi-skilled occupations; but 68.5% of the migrants had semi-skilled occupations. Most frequent were tailors, but there were nearly as many teachers and mechanics.

While it is frequently claimed that approximately 80% of the Haitian population is illiterate and has virtually no formal schooling, the migrants in our sample have an average of 7.6 years of formal schooling. Only 6.2% had no schooling; 34.2%, between one and six years; 41.4%, some secondary; and 30.2% have had commercial, short courses, or vocational training. As with other migrant and refugee groups, the Haitians represent not the bottom of their society but those anxious and capable of improving themselves.

We also asked under what conditions each respondent would return to Haiti: 50% indicated they would return if political conditions changed; 71% would return if economic conditions changed. From the perspective of the migrants themselves, political and economic conditions apparently are not mutually

exclusive. Previous research by this study's principal investigator further indicates how political and economic conditions are inseparable in Haiti.* The dichotomy is a false, misleading division employed by government officials to rationalize particular policies. The political versus economic distinction is invalid empirically and offers no help in attempting to understand the backgrounds of migrants, their motivations for coming, or their potential adaptation to U.S. society.

Experience in the U.S.

Rather than being unemployed, Haitians are primarily underemployed supporting themselves mainly by part-time, temporary work. They are generally engaged in small scale enterprises or short term work typical of their home country, the rest of the developing world, and increasingly evident even in Miami. The recent surge in street corner, petty commerce by Cubans of fruits, vegetables, and flowers in Miami is of the same nature. Haitians engage in similar activities, but are less likely to be visible to the broader community. In order to make ends meet, they obtain odd jobs with their tailoring, mechanical or other skills. The pay is unsteady and low and provides them with a livelihood, perhaps just barely. However, they do not consider such part time work as "having a job." They would prefer a permanent, steady work, for the Haitians the essence of "having a job." By this strict standard, 60% do not have a job. Yet, most manage to survive without risking starvation or asking for government support. They may live in crowded conditions and share meager resources among many, but the necessity and value of self-reliance is extraordinarily high.

The majority of the respondents do not receive welfare of any type, in spite of the fact that most would qualify for some type of government assistance. Only 27.8% receive food stamps, while 17.7% received Stone- Fascell aid before it was discontinued. No one reported receiving AFDC.

For more than 2/3s of the sample, the biggest problem since arriving in the U.S. has been finding work. Nearly 60% were not working at the time of the survey. Of those not working, nearly 1/4 have not worked in the past 7-12 months; another 13.9% in the past 4-6 months; and 15.3% in the past 2-3 months.

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*See Haitian Refugees in the U.S., New York: Minority Rights Group, 1981.

Even for those who are working, nearly as many work at part time jobs as full time ones and more than 1/2 have jobs which are only seasonal.

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that they have been out of work frequently with 42.2% out of work 3 times the past year and another 24.4%, 4 times.

There is no evidence that the Haitians are taking jobs away from Americans by working for less than the minimum wage. Only 10.3% reported earning less than the minimum wage, while 66.7% earned between $3.35 and $3.99 per hour.

They do, however, tend to cluster in medium sized firms which are non-unionized, offer few or no benefits to the workers, and/or little chance of advancement within the company.

Social Interaction

The Haitians are not isolated from the broader community around them. They do not interact only with Haitians or limit their activities to their own group. They tend to work in ethnically mixed environments, shop in stores owned by people of other ethnic groups, and many even live in non-Haitian neighborhoods.

Haitians work with (44.7%) Cubans more than with any other ethnic groups; 40.4% work with other Haitians; 38.3% with Anglos and only 23.4% with American Blacks.*

Most have Anglos as bosses (54.9%), while 26.2% have Cuban bosses; 16.3%, American Black bosses, and 12.8%, Haitian bosses.

49.1% make their everyday purchases in stores run by Cubans; 48.2% in stores run by Anglos.

Nearly 60% live in Haitian neighborhoods, but 30% live in neighborhoods with a significant number of American Blacks, nearly 25% with Cubans, and only 12% with Anglos.

There are social and cultural factors mitigating against Haitian integration. The Haitians tend to be shy and withdrawn, sometimes conveying a false impression of apathy or lack of understanding. Their unfamiliarity with American norms, business practices, and English easily compound the problem. Perhaps most

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*Percentages total more than 100% because respondents sometimes replied affirmatively to more than one alternative.

important is the rejection they frequently experience from the broader community.

Over 50% claim they have virtually no contact with Americans. 76.6% claim that they believe Americans consider themselves superior, and only 26.4% feel that Haitians can make friends with Americans. Nearly 50% believe that Americans are prejudiced against Haitians, while slightly over 70% have not experienced any prejudice and less than 25% believe that relations between Haitians and Americans are cold. The Haitians perceive distance between themselves and the larger American society and difficulties in overcoming that distance. Yet, they remain somewhat mixed in their feelings.

Nearly as many believe that racism does not affect making money (41.4%) as those who believe racism does affect making money (46.8%). 84.6% still want their children to learn English, yet, they want to maintain their Haitian heritage as 48% want a Haitian education for their children, while 42% want an American education and 6% would like both.

The Haitian adaptation to Miami and the difficult economic conditions they face is much like that of other immigrant and migrant groups. It depends more upon informal, traditional mechanisms than formal, bureaucratic ones. Networks of extended family, friends, and people from their home towns and for some the church provide information, and support in times of need. When housing is needed, a little extra room can be found for awhile. When only one person has a job, the proceeds are shared among many. Frictions may indeed rise as some feel unduly burdened by distant relatives and not so close friends, but the community tends to support itself more than it relies upon outside assistance.

Most have family either in Miami or somewhere in the states (if not Miami, the most likely city is New York). Nearly half the sample have cousins in Miami, while 10% live in the same household with cousins. Only 26.2% of the sample is married and less than a third of those actually live with their spouse. It is common in migrant groups for one spouse to migrate first and not send for the other until a firm base is established. The Haitians appear to be following this trend. Moreover, many have left their children behind in Haiti.

Given the economic uncertainty in the Haitians' lives, it is not surprising that their residence changes frequently. More than half the sample have moved since coming to Miami, while 10.8% have lived other places in the U.S. outside of Miami. Within Miami, the sample has moved an average of just slightly over two times in the approximately two years they have been here. It is no surprise that none own their own home, while 47.3% rent houses, and 30.9% rent apartments.

The most common organization to which they belong is the church (44.4%). While Catholics outnumber Protestants, 57.6% v. 42.4%, it does appear that Protestants are slightly more likely to have come from the Northwest regions of Haiti where Protestant missionaries have been particularly active.

The survey did not and could not gather precise information on the nature of the informal networks which Haitians use to adapt to and cope with everyday life. But a small reflection of this is revealed in the response to the question of how people found work: 85% indicated that they found work through family or friends while 10% used an employment agency or service and 5% used the newspaper. We suspect that similar network are used for a wide range of activities. Anthropological work among Mexican migrants found them used for housing, employment, social interaction, small money loans and temporary borrowing of goods. Most likely, the Haitians fulfill these same needs with similar informal networks.

I. Introduction

This report presents and analyses social and economic data on a group of Haitian refugees in Miami. It describes their backgrounds in Haiti, migration history, employment past and prospects in the U.S., knowledge and perceptions of U.S. society, and ambitions for themselves and their children. The report includes an evaluation of the Haitian Adult Development Education Program (HADEP) of the Phelps Stokes Fund. The U.S. Department of Education funded HADEP to provide instruction in English communication and literacy skills, acculturation support and vocational training. We surveyed the HADEP students to assess HADEP's accomplishments in these areas and to provide badly needed data on the Haitian community in Miami.

The findings rely upon interviews with program staff, observation of classes, and most importantly, a survey questionnaire administered to 129 HADEP students. The questionnaire consisted of 146 items in Creole on a broad range of topics (see Methodology section for a fuller discussion of the survey).

This report is divided into five sections: 1. socio-economic background and experiences of sample in Haiti; 2. economic experiences and conditions for sample since arriving in U.S.; 3. adaptation and integration of Haitians in the U.S.; 4. evaluation of HADEP programs, especially students' English proficiency; and 5. methodology of the report.

II. Socio-economic Background

This sample of Haitians does not fit the common stereotypes of the Haitian migrants in Miami: those Haitians surveyed do not come from uniformaly poor backgrounds; they are not the least skilled in Haitian society; they are not illiterate; they are not farmers; they are not from the most isolated, impoverished regions of Haiti. In short, they have skills potentially adaptable to the U.S. environment, ambition likely to lead to success if encouraged, and positive perceptions of U.S. society while being aware of prejudice and discrimination against them.

Examining birthplace, we discover that virtually equal numbers were born in the impoverished Northwest province (34.6%) and West province which has the nation's capital, Port-au-Prince (33.7%) (Table I, A). The urban versus rural comparisons of birthplace are even more interesting. The majority, 52.1%, were born in villages; however, 36% were born in medium size cities and 12.4% were born in Port-au-Prince (Table I, B). If we look at the numbers who were either born in or lived in different size cities, we see an even greater trend towards urban experience. Nearly 40% of the migrants were either born or have lived in

Port-au-Prince; 32.6% were born or lived in a medium size city and only 30.2% have spent all their lives in villages (Table II).

TABLE I
BIRTHPLACE

	Number	Percentage
A. Province		
L'Artinonite	11	10.6
North	15	4.4
Northwest	36	34.6
West	35	33.7
South	7	6.7
B. Urban versus Rural		
Port-au-Prince	15	12.4
Medium Size City	43	35.5
Village	63	52.1

TABLE II
URBAN VERSUS RURAL EXPERIENCE*

Port-au-Prince	48	37.7
Medium Size City	42	32.6
Village	39	30.2

The non-agricultural base of the migrant population is further emphasized in Tables III and IV, Occupation in Haiti. The migrants are largely one generation removed from their peasant roots. Over 62% of the migrants' fathers were engaged in agriculture, but only 5.5% of the migrants themselves. Almost 20% of the migrants fathers had semi-skilled occupations, but 68.5% of the migrants had semi-skilled occupations. Most frequent were tailors, but there were nearly as many teachers and mechanics. In both generations there were small numbers of unskilled, non-agriculture workers (5.4% in the fathers' and 4.1% in the migrants'). There was a slightly higher proportion of fathers engaged in business (8.1% versus 4.1%) but the migrants had a higher proportion engaged in skilled work (13.7% versus 4.5% for the fathers).

*Anyone who was either born or has lived in Port-au-Prince is listed here under Port-au-Prince; Anyone who was born or has lived in any medium size city is listed under medium size city; Everyone who was born in a village and has lived only in villages is coded there.

TABLE III
OCCUPATION IN HAITI**

	Number	Percentage
Did not work	2	2.7
Student	1	1.4
Agriculture	4	5.5
Unskilled, non-agriculture	3	4.1
Semi-skilled	50	68.5
Skilled	10	13.7
Business	3	4.1

TABLE IV
FATHER'S OCCUPATION IN HAITI

	Number	Percentage
Agriculture	69	62.2
Unskilled, non-agriculture	6	5.4
Semi-skilled	22	19.8
Skilled	5	4.5
Business	9	8.1

The shift away from agriculture is also reflected in the migrants' educational background. While it is frequently claimed that approximately 80% of the Haitian population is illiterate and has virtually no formal schooling, the migrants have an average of 7.6 years of formal schooling. Only 6.2% have had no schooling; 34.2% between one and six years; 41.4% some secondary; and 27.2% have had commercial, short courses, or vocational training (Tables V and VI).

TABLE V
YEARS OF SCHOOLING IN HAITI
(Mean 7.6 years)

	Number	Percentage
Zero	8	6.2
One to Three	9	7.0
Four	9	7.0
Five	12	9.3
Six	14	10.9
Seven	11	8.5
Eight	13	10.1
Nine or more	45	35.0
No answer	8	6.2

**Percentages in all tables are calculated according to those who answered the particular question. All missing values are excluded from percentage questions.

TABLE VI
POST-PRIMARY OR SPECIAL SCHOOLING

Secondary	41	41.4
Commercial	3	3.0
Short Course	4	4.0
Vocational Training	23	23.2
University	3	3.0
Other	3	3.0
None after primary	22	22.2

In short, the migrants are more urban experienced, skilled, and educated than common stereotypes or expectations based on the political versus economic dichotany.

The survey also gathered detailed information on farming practices for those who were farmers in Haiti. The number of farmers was so small, However, that the data must be interpreted with extreme caution: the average number of karos planted was 3.33; owned, 2.6; sharecropped, 5; and leased, 1.4. Over 50% farmed coffee as the primary cash crop; and corn and millet were the principal subsistence crops. For those who were farmers, 25% sold land to finance their migration and 44% mortgaged land. While these data on farmers are very sparse, they do seem to indicate that those who were farmers were probably not the poorest peasants. Moreover, the selling and mortgaging of land to finance their trip to the United States could lead to a further concentration of landholdings in their villages.

We also asked under what conditions each respondent would return in Haiti: 50% indicated they would return if political conditions changed; 71% would return if economic conditions changed (Table VII). From the perspective of the migrants themselves, political and economic conditions apparently are not mutually exclusive.

TABLE VII
CONDITIONS FOR RETURNING TO HAITI*

	Number	Percentage
If political conditions change	63	57.3
If economic conditions change	88	83

*Totals are more than 100% because some responded affirmatively to both.

III. Economics

Rather than being unemployed, Haitians are primarily

underemployed supporting themselves mainly by part-time, temporary work. They are generally engaged in small scale enterprises typical of their home country, the rest of the developing world, and even evident in Miami. The recent surge in street corner, petty commerce of fruits, vegetables, and flowers in Miami is of the same nature. Haitians engage in similar activities, but are less likely to be visible to the broader community. In order to make ends meet, they obtain odd jobs with their tailoring, mechanical or other skills. The pay is unsteady and low and provides them with a livelihood, perhaps just barely. However, they do not consider such part time work as "having a job." They would prefer a permanent, steady work, the essence of "having a job" for the Haitians. Yet, most manage to survive without risking starvation or asking for government support. They may live in crowded conditions and share meager resources among many, but the necessity and value of self-reliance is extraordinarily high.

The central concern of the Haitians is economics. For 2/3s of the sample "no job" was the most significant problem they have encountered since being in the U.S. (Table VIII). Nearly 60% did not "have a job" at the time of the survey (Table IX). Of those not working, nearly 1/4 have not worked in the past 7-12 months; another 13.9% in the past 4-6 months; and 15.3% in the past 2-3 months (Table X).

TABLE VIII
MAJOR PROBLEM IN U.S.

	Number	Percentage
No Job	68	66.7
Financial	4	3.9
Can't go to school	2	2.0
Obtaining Residency	7	6.9
English	9	8.8
Housing	3	2.9
Robbed	1	1.0
Accident	1	1.0
No Problem	7	6.9

TABLE IX
CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Working	47	40.9
Not Working	67	59.1

TABLE X
TIME SINCE LAST WORKED FOR THOSE PRESENTLY NOT WORKING

Less then a month	8	11.1
2-3 months	11	15.3
4-6 months	10	13.9
7-12 months	17	23.6

Even for those who are working, nearly as many work at part time jobs as full time ones and more than 1/2 have jobs which are only seasonal and not year round (Tables XI and XII). Given these conditions it is not surprising that they have been out of work frequently with 42.2% out of work 3 times the past year and another 24.4%, 4 times (Table XIII). Nevertheless, most have worked only one place (34.7%) or two places (23.8%) (Table XIV).

TABLE XI
SEASONAL OR YEAR ROUND EMPLOYMENT

	Number	Percentage
Seasonal	27	51.9
All Year	25	48.1

TABLE XII
FULL OR PART TIME FOR THOSE WORKING

Full Time	28	38.4
Part Time	26	35.6

TABLE XIII
NUMBER OF TIMES OUT OF WORK IN U.S. (Mean = 2.856)

Zero	6	6.7
One	12	13.3
Two	7	7.8
Three	38	42.2
Four	22	24.4
Five	3	3.3
Six	1	1.1
Eight	1	1.1

TABLE XIV
NUMBER OF PLACES WORKED IN U.S. (Mean = 1.297)

	Number	Percentage
Zero	30	29.7
One	35	34.7
Two	24	23.8
Three	7	6.9
Four	3	3.0
Seven	1	1.0
Eight	1	1.0

Those who are working tend to earn at or near the minimum wage (Table XV). Only 10.3% reported earning less than the minimum wage, while 66.7% earned between $3.35 and $3.99 per hour. This data provides little support to the contentions that

Haitians are taking jobs from Americans by working at lower wages.

TABLE XV
HOURLY WAGES

Less than $3.35	4	10.3
$3.35 - $3.49	14	35.9
$3.50 - $3.99	12	30.8
$4.00 - $4.49	3	7.7
$4.50 - $4.99	2	5.1
$5.00 - $5.49	3	7.7
$6.00 or more	1	2.6

They do, however, tend to cluster in medium-sized firms which are non-unionized, offer few or no benefits to their workers, and little chance for improvement (Tables XVI, XVII, XVIII and XIX). 28.8% work at firms with 20 employees or less, and another 17.3% at firms with 21-100 employees (Table XVIII). More than anything, the respondents expressed ignorance concerning (or perhaps a reluctance to talk about) the conditions of their work. 42.3% claimed they did not know how many other people worked where they worked. 29.4% did not know whether they received any benefits such as unemployment or health insurance, while 39.2% knew that they did not receive any (Table XVI). 76.9% claimed that there was no union where they worked and virtually no one belongs to a union (Table XVII). 32.7% did not know what their chances for advancement at work were, while 61.5% felt they had little or almost no chance for advancement (Table XIX).

TABLE XVI
JOB BENEFITS

	Number	Percentage
Yes	15	29.4
No	20	39.2
Don't Know	15	29.4

TABLE XVII
UNION AT WORK

Yes	10	19.2
No	40	76.9

TABLE XVIII
NUMBER OF PEOPLE AT WORK (SIZE OF FIRM WHERE WORKING

	Number	Percentage
Less than 5	5	9.6
Between 5 and 20	10	19.2
21-100	9	17.3
101-500	4	7.7
1,000 or more	1	1.9
Don't Know	22	42.3

TABLE XIX
CHANCE FOR ADVANCEMENT IN CURRENT JOB

Much	3	5.8
Little	11	21.1
Almost None	21	40.4
Don't Know	17	32.7

The Haitians tend to work in mixed ethnic environments (Tables XX, XXI). More than any other group Haitians work with Cubans (44.7%); 40.4% work with other Haitians, 38.3% with Anglos; and only 23.4% with American Blacks. Most have Anglos as bosses (54.9%), while 26.2% have Cuban bosses; 16.3%, American Black bosses; and 12.8%, Haitian bosses.

TABLE XX
ETHNICITY OF BOSS*

	Number	Percentage
Anglo	28	54.9
Black	8	16.3
Cuban	17	26.2
Haitian	6	12.8
Jew	4	8.3

TABLE XXI
ETHNICITY OF CO-WORKERS**

Anglo	18	38.3
Black	11	23.4
Cuban	21	44.7
Haitian	19	40.4

The Haitians apparently are not becoming segregated off into

**Totals are more than 100% because some responded affirmatively to more than one category.

an isolated sector of the economy. Their wages are not high, but nor are they below the minimum wage. They do tend to cluster in jobs which have few benefits and little chance for advancement, but they seem to be doing so alongside Cubans and Whites even more than alongside American Blacks.

To determine if Haitians are displacing native Americans in the job market is difficult in general and impossible with this particular set of data. We would need to know where they are working, the types of jobs they have, who held those jobs previously and why they are now held by Haitians and a number of other factors.

IV. Adaptation and Integration

The sample's background in Haiti reveals a population which is both physically and socially mobile, striving to better itself. Their experiences in the U.S. in some ways mirror their past. They are not desperate and without recourse, but they have encountered obstacles and difficulties.

They claim to be highly satisfied with their life and experiences since coming to the U.S.: 87.1% responded that they were completely or very satisfied with life in the U.S. (Table XXII).

TABLE XXII
SATISFACTION WITH THE U.S.

	Number	Percentage
Completely satisfied	46	39.3
Very Satisfied	56	47.9
Somewhat satisfied	7	6.0
Not very satisfied	5	4.3
Not at all satisfied	3	2.6

Their enrollment in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes is one indication of their awareness of the need and desire to improve their skills in the U.S. Apart from wanting to learn English, their most important reason for enrolling in the ESOL classes was to find a better job (Table XXIII). We also asked what other languages they would like to learn and somewhat surprisingly over 50% indicated that they would like to learn Spanish (Table XXIV).

TABLE XXIII
REASONS FOR TAKING ESOL CLASS

	Number
To find a better job	52
To receive a diploma	46
To learn English	96
To be with a friend	15

TABLE XXIV
WHICH LANGUAGE WOULD YOU LIKE TO LEARN TO READ AND WRITE?

	Number	Percentage
Creole	20	28.6
French	3	4.3
Spanish	37	52.9

Besides working in mixed ethnic environments (Tables XX and XXI), Haitians interact with other ethnic groups in the other parts of their everyday life: Cubans (49.1%) and Anglos (48.2%) most likely own and operate the stores where the Haitians make their everyday purchases (Table XXV). The Haitians everyday world in Miami is not an isolated one, withdrawing inward towards one's traditional culture. They interact with and desire the skills to interact better with both the English and Spanish speaking communities of Miami.

TABLE XXV
ETHNICITY OF SHOP OWNERS*

	Number	Percentage
A. Everyday Purchases		
Anglo	53	48.2
Black	11	10.0
Haitian	18	16.4
Cuban	54	49.1
B. Large Special Purchases		
Anglo	50	52.6
Black	6	6.3
Haitian	9	.5
Cuban	28	29.5

*Totals more than 100% because respondents responded affirmatively to more than one category.

Yet, they are not completely surrendering their social identity: Nearly 60% live in Haitian neighborhoods, while nearly 30% live in neighborhoods with a significant number of American Blacks; nearly 25% with Cubans; and only 12% with Whites (Table XXVI).

TABLE XXVI
ETHNICITY OF MAJORITY OF NEIGHBORS*

	Number	Percentage
Haitian	69	59.9
American Black	35	29.9
Cuban	29	24.8
White	14	12.1

Over 50% claim they have virtually no contact with Americans (Table XXVII); 76.6% claim that they believe Americans consider themselves superior (Table XXVIII); and only 26.4% feel that Haitians can make friends with Americans (Table XXIX). Nearly 50% believe that Americans are prejudiced against Haitians (Table XXX), while slightly over 70% have not experienced in prejudice (Table XXXI), and less than 25% believe that relations between Haitians and Americans are cold (Table XXXII). The Haitians perceive distance between themselves and the larger American society and difficulties in overcoming that distance. Yet, they remain somewhat mixed in their feelings.

TABLE XXVII
DO YOU HAVE CONTACT WITH AMERICANS?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	24	20.9
Little	31	27.0
Virtually None	60	52.2

TABLE XXVIII
AMERICANS CONSIDER THEMSELVES:

Superior	82	76.6
Same	16	15.0
Inferior	3	2.8
Don't Know	6	5.6

*Total is more than 129 and percentages greater than 100 because respondents were allowed to answer yes to more than one category.

TABLE XXIX
CAN HAITIANS MAKE FRIENDS WITH AMERICANS?

Yes	29	26.4
No	64	58.2
Neither	4	3.6
Don't Know	13	11.8

TABLE XXX
DO YOU THINK AMERICANS ARE PREJUDICED AGAINST HAITIANS?

Yes	52	48.1
No	56	51.9

TABLE XXXI
FROM WHOM HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED PREJUDICE?

	Number	Percentage
American	8	8.8
Cuban	5	5.5
Both	14	15.4
Neither	64	70.3

TABLE XXXII
RELATIONS BETWEEN HAITIANS AND AMERICANS ARE:

Friendly	39	37.1
Cold	25	23.8
Neither	40	38.1
Don't know	1	1.0

Nearly as many believe that racism does not affect making money, 41.4%, as those who believe racism does affect making money, 46.8% (Table XXXIII). 84.6% still want their children to learn English (Table XXXIV), yet they want to maintain their Haitian heritage as 48% want a Haitian education for their children, while 42% want an American education and 6% would like both (Table XXXV).

TABLE XXXIII
DOES RACISM AFFECT MAKING MONEY?

	Number	Percentage
Yes	52	46.8
No	46	41.4
Neither	2	1.8
Don't know	11	9.9

TABLE XXXIV
WHICH LANGUAGES WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR CHILDREN TO LEARN TO READ AND WRITE?

Creole	12	18.5
English	55	84.6
Spanish	8	12.5
French	20	30.8

TABLE XXXV
TYPE OF EDUCATION DESIRED FOR CHILDREN

American	21	42.0
Haitian	24	48.0
Both	3	6.0

The Haitian adaptation to Miami and the difficult economic conditions they face is much like that of other immigrant and migrant groups. It depends more upon informal, traditional mechanisms than formal, bureaucratic ones. Networks of extended family, friends, and people from their home towns and for some the church provide information, succor, and support in times of need. When housing is needed, a little extra room can be found for awhile. When only one person has a job, the proceeds are shared among everyone. Frictions may indeed rise as some feel unduly burdened by distant relative and not so close friends, but the community tends to support itself more than it relies upon outside assistance.

The data we gathered in our survey tend to confirm the above general description, although more intensive anthropological work would be required to delineate all the details. Of those who answered the question questions about the type of formal assistance received, no one reported receiving AFDC; 17.7% reported receiving "Carter money", i.e. Cuban Haitian Entrant program funds; and 27.8% claimed they received food stamps (Table XXXVI). These figures are higher than those for illegal Mexicans in California who receive virtually no assistance since they are afraid of being caught. Nevertheless, the Haitians clearly are not relying principally on formal assistance to support themselves.

TABLE XXXVI
ASSISTANCE RECEIVED

	Number	Percentage
Carter Money	14	17.7
Foodstamps	22	27.8
AFDC	0	0
No Assistance	36	49.3

Most have family either in Miami or somewhere in the states (if not Miami, the most likely city is New York). Nearly half the sample have cousins in Miami, while 10% live in the same household with cousins (Tables XXXVII, and XXXVIII). Only 26.2% of the sample is married (Table XXXIX) and less than a third of those actually live with their spouse (Table XXXVIII). It is common in migrant groups for one spouse to migrate first and not send for the other until a firm base is established. The Haitians appear to be following this trend. Many have left their children behind in Haiti. Because of these marital separations, opinion is not unanimous that either marital life or life for their children would be worse if they had remained in Haiti (Tables XL, XLI).

TABLE XXXVII
SAME CITY

	Number	Percentage
Father	1	1
Mother	1	1
Father or Mother-in-law	2	2
Siblings	13	13
Cousins	55	55
Aunt or Uncle	28	28
In U.S. Outside of Miami		
Yes	51	68
No	24	32

TABLE XXXVIII
FAMILY RELATIONSHIP SAME HOUSEHOLD

Spouse	10	16.7
Father	4	6.7
Mother-in-law	2	3.3
Children	11	18.3
Cousins	12	20.0
Aunt	9	15.0
Uncle	4	6.7
Lives alone with neither family or friends	8	13.3

TABLE XXXIX
MARTIAL STATUS

	Number	Percentage
Boy or Girl friend	14	11.4
Unmarried Living together	9	7.4
Married	32	26.2
Single, no relationship	67	54.9

TABLE XL
HOW WOULD YOUR MARTIAL RELATIONS BE IF YOU HAD REMAINED IN HAITI?

Better	7	18.4
Same	12	31.6
Worse	16	42.1
Don't know	2	5.3

TABLE XLI
HOW WOULD THINGS BE FOR YOUR CHILDREN IF YOU HAD REMAINED IN HAITI?

Better	9	21.4
Same	16	38.1
Worse	8	19.0
Don't know	8	19.0

Given the economic uncertainty in the Haitians' lives, it is not surprising that their residence changes frequently. More than half the sample have moved since coming to Miami, while 10.8% have lived other places in the U.S. outside of Miami (Table XLII). Within Miami, the sample has moved an average of just slightly over two times in the approximately two years they have been here (Table XLIII). Not surprisingly, none owns their own home while 47.3% rent houses and 30.9% rent apartments (Table XLIV).

TABLE XLII
RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

	Number	Percentage
Lived Anywhere besides Miami	13	10.8
Lived Elsewhere in Miami	63	52.5

TABLE XLIII
NUMBER OF OTHER PLACES LIVED IN MIAMI

Zero	3	4.5
One	11	16.7
Two	33	50.0
Three	16	24.2
Four	1	1.5
Five	1	1.5
Six	1	1.5

Mean number of moves - 2.121

TABLE XLIV
HOUSING

Rent house	52	47.3
Rent apartment	34	30.9
Other	24	21.8

The most common organization to which they belong is the church, (44.4%) (Table XLV). While Catholics outnumber Protestants, 57.6% v. 42.4% (Table XLVI), it does appear that Protestants are slightly more active in the church and slightly more likely to have come from the Northwest regions of Haiti where Protestant missionaries have been particularly active.

The survey did not and could not gather precise information on the nature of the informal networks which Haitians use to adapt to and cope with everyday life. But a small reflection of this is revealed in the response to the question of how people found work: 85% indicated that they found work through family or friends while 10% used an employment agency or service and 5% used the newspaper (Table XLVII). We suspect that similar networks are used for a wide range of activities. Anthropological work among Mexican migrants found them used for housing, employment, social interaction, small money loans and temporary borrowing of goods. Most likely, the Haitians fulfill these same needs with similar informal networks.

TABLE XLV
WHAT ORGANIZATIONS DO YOU BELONG TO?

	Number	Percentage
Church	52	44.4
None	49	41.9
Club	7	6.0
Professional Association	7	6.0
Political Party	2	1.7

TABLE XLVI
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

Catholic	68	57.6
Protestant	46	42.4

TABLE XLVII
HOW DID YOU FIND YOUR JOB?

Family-Friend	34	85.0
Newspaper	2	5.0
Employment Agency	4	10.0

10 of 55 (18.2%) took written exam for Job.

V. English Proficiency

The students indicated they were highly satisfied with the ESOL classes (Table XLVIII). 92.6% indicated they were completely satisfied and another 6.3% claimed they were very satisfied. Yet, a program cannot be measured simply by student's claims of satisfaction. The primary goal is for the students to learn English, as is reflected in the students' reasons for taking the ESOL classes (Table XXIII). The respondents perceive themselves as knowing only a little bit of English (59.5%), while 17.9% thought they knew English very well, compared to the extremes of 6.3% who felt they had no problems with English and 14.3% who believed they knew no English at all (Table IL).

TABLE LVIII
RATING OF ESL CLASS

	Number	Percentage
Completely satisfied	100	92.6
Very satisfied	7	6.5
Neutral	1	.9
Not very satisfied	0	0
Not at all satisfied	0	0

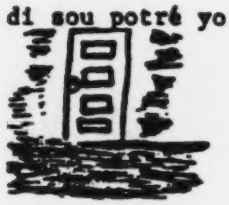
TABLE IL
STUDENTS' SELF-EVALUATION OF ENGLISH PROFICIENCY

No problem	7	6.3
Very good	20	17.9
Good	2	1.8
A little bit	67	59.8
None at all	66	14.3

We also applied an objective measure of English which has been adapted from previous research among Cuban and Mexican immigrants to the U.S.* The objective measure, reproduced in Figure I, asked students to match written and spoken English phrases with their appropriate pictorial representations. We summed the number of correct responses for each individual producing a measure of English proficiency which ranged from 0 to 6. The mean for the total population was 3.66 correct, with a standard deviation of 2.56 (Table L). The median of 4.69 exceeds the mean revealing that the sample was skewed toward the high end, i.e. more people did better than the mean than did worse

*See especially Portes, Alejandro, "Final reort of the project Latin American Immigrant Minorities in the United States, 1973-79," to the National Science Foundation, 1981. Award No. SOC-75-16151.

Konnie a m-pral li kek fraz an angle pou montré-m sa yo vle di sou potré yo



125. He raises his hand

126. It is very cold

127. The door is not open

128. She is playing with her doll

129. She writes with chalk

130. There is a horse near the church

TABLE L
ENGLISH PROFICIENCY

A. Overall mean 3.66 Standard deviation 2.56 Median 4.69

B. Student with:	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
American Teachers	4.29	2.24	52
Haitian Teachers	4.55	2.15	40
C. Students at:			
Florida Memorial	4.08	2.52	25
Haitian Center	3.91	2.47	55
St. Mary's	4.32	2.06	34
D. Time in ESL Classes:			
4 weeks	5.00	2.00	4
1-3 weeks	2.37	2.83	8
1-3 months	4.52	1.93	27
3-4 months	4.15	2.56	18
5-9 months	4.57	2.99	21
10+ months	4.59	2.02	22
E. According to Type of Education in Haiti			
Secondary School	4.63	2.1	41
Commercial	5.00	2.0	3
Short Course	5.50	1.0	4
Trade School	2.65	2.4	23
University	4.00	3.5	3
No Schooling after Primary School	4.05	2.5	22

than the mean. Moreover, the sample mode of 6 indicates more students successfully matches all the phrases with their pictorial representations than those who only got 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, or 0 correct. In short, most of the students performed quite well on this simple, objective measure of English.

We also attempted to determine if students' English proficiency depended upon a number of variables: ethnicity of teacher (Haitian or American), the school where classes were taken, the length of time the student had been taking ESOL classes, the type of post primary education the student received in Haiti, and/or the number of years of formal schooling in Haiti. We found few significant results.

The students of American and Haitian teachers performed equally well (Table L,B). The classes at Biscayne College, Florida Memorial University, and the Haitian Catholic Center programs produced equally good results on our English test Table L,C). This last result, however, does not necessarily imply that students learned no more as time in the program increased. Rather, interviews with program staff indicate that students

learn English and finish the program at different rates. Those who remain the longest are likely to be those who have the greatest difficulty learning English (Table L,D).

There were no clear differences in English proficiency among those who had attended in Haiti: secondary school, commercial school, vocational school with short courses, the university, or even those that had no schooling after primary school, (Table L,E). The only noticeable difference was between those who had attended vocational trade schools and has a lower English proficiency versus those who had some other type of post-primary education. Yet, even this difference was not statistically significant.

The best predictor of English proficiency was simply the years of schooling the students had received in Haiti. The rank order correlation coefficient between years of previous schooling and English proficiency was .30, significant at the .001 level. Many of the teachers indicated that one of the greatest pedagogical among students in a single class. Because students with more years of schooling do better, a segregation of students by years of formal schooling might enhance the learning process and the teachers' ability to teach.

USE OF OTHER HADEP SERVICES

Other services beyond the English classes offered by the HADEP program included counseling, employment referrals, and referral for a broad range of other services such as health. The survey revealed that the students lightly used these services: 19% had used counseling service; 8.8% the employment referrals and 23% the other referrals (Table LI). Those who did use the other services rated them very highly. Only 13.0% were neutral or less than satisfied with the counceling (Table LII,A); 13% felt similarly for the agency referral services received (Table LII,B); and, everyone who used the employment referrals was either very satisfied or completely satisfied with the services received (Table LII,C).

TABLE LI
USE OF OTHER SERVICES

	Number	Percentage
Counseling	20	19.0
Referrals	23	23.0
Employment	9	8.8

TABLE LII
RATING OF OTHER SERVICES

A. Counseling		
Completely Satisfied	18	81.8
Very Satisfied	1	4.5
Neutral	2	9.1
Not very satisfied	1	4.5
Not at all satisfied	0	0
B. Agency to which Referred		
Completely Satisfied	16	69.6
Very Satisfied	4	17.4
Neutral	3	13.0
Not very satisfied	0	0
Not at all satisfied	0	0
C. Employment		
Completement Satisfied	6	60.0
Very Satisfied	4	40.0
Neutral	0	0
Not very satisfied	0	0
Not at all satisfied	0	0

Since the users of the other services were so satisfied, the low use rate more likely reflects either the students perceived lack of need for the services or their ignorance of their availability. Interviews with personnel in HADEP and other Miami agencies serving the Haitians reveals that finding jobs for Haitians is extraordinarily difficult. Problems apparently stem more from the depressed nature of the economy and general lack of jobs than from negative perceptions of Haitians. To the contrary, Haitians have a generally positive image in the community as hard working individuals and those firms which have hired Haitians have been very pleased with the results.

The greatest problem with the HADEP program was transportation (Table LIII). Few have access to cars, and the Miami public transportation system is notoriously inadequate. HADEP attempted to overcome those problems by having most classes in Miami's Little Haiti and arranging transportation for those classes held elsewhere.

TABLE LIII
PROBLEMS WITH ESOL*

	Number	Percentage
Transportation	12	37.5
Listening	7	21.9
Class	6	18.8
Can't Retain English	3	9.4
Can't Speak Properly	2	6.3
Teacher Aide	1	3.1

VI. Methodology

The primary instrument of this report was a survey questionnaire administered to 129 Haitian students in HADEP ESOL programs.

Before designing the survey the principal investigator visited each program site, talked with teachers and administrators and observed classroom teaching. This direct observation and interviewing familiarized the investigator with the conditions of the classroom and the primary concerns of the administrators and teachers. It was discovered that a surprising proportion of the students were literate (although certainly not all) and that a written questionnaire in Creole would be most appropriate. The principal investigator also learned that the teachers were uniformly impressed with the dedication and commitment of the students, but some pragmatic considerations impinged upon their learning ESOL. In particular, transportation and jobs were constantly mentioned. Not all students could get to class all the time and whenever work was available students frequently missed class.

The questionnaire had two principal goals: (1) to privide a basis for comparison of the Haitians with other immigrant groups and (2) to evaluate the particulars of the HADEP ESOL program.

To provide the comparative basis, we adapted questionnaires from previous work with Cuban and Mexican immigrants (Portes, 1982). To cover the particulars of the HADEP program, we constructed questions on the HADEP program after consulting with program directors and teachers. Also to assure that background questions on conditions would be culturally sensitive, we consulted with anthropologists who had worked in rural Haiti.

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*Ouestion was open-ended and answers are reported as provided by students.

The questions were translated from English to Haitian Creole primarily by Marie Jocelyn Levi. We then pretested the questionnaire with three different groups: HADEP administrators, HADEP teachers, and a few HADEP students. Each groups had different questions and suggestions for revisions that were incorporated into the final version of the questionnaire. After all these revisions, the questionnaire was reproduced and readied for administration.

The questionnaire was administered primarily by HADEP student assistants with help from the teachers and a couple of Haitians hired for the task. Administration of the questionnaire was the most difficult and troublesome task of the entire evaluation. The students were reluctant to respond. In spite of an introduction explaining the scientific purpose of the questionnaire and the goal of helping the Haitian community, many remained unconvineed. They feared that the Immigration Service was somewhat involved and would receive the results. While some of the survey administrators were better than others at assuaging these fears, many still refused to cooperate. Some refused to answer any questions and others answered only a few.

To overcome the students' fears, the survey administrators must have sensitivity, an articulate awareness of the survey's purpose and importance and the ability to convince respondents that the information will help the Haitian community and not harm them or anyone else. To achieve this rather difficult task, more than one training and practice session must be held with the survey administrators and they should be accompanied at least once if not more frequently when they actually administer the questionnaire.

Because of the difficulties in gaining adequate response we were able to obtain a sample of only 129, smaller than we had hoped, but still sufficiently large for some interesting observations. Since the sample is drawn only from those enrolled in HADEP ESOL classes, it is not representative of the entire Haitian population. Most likely it is biased towards the middle. Those with less education (and more likely from rural areas) are probably less likely to enroll in an ESOL class. At the other end, the elite are less likely to enroll either because they may already know English, have a legal status other than Entrant status, or would not want to associate with those from the lower classes in a public school.

After the questionnaires were completed, the responses were coded numerically and entered into the Univac computer of the Southeast Regional Data Center (SERDAC) at Florida International University. The process was time consuming and tedious requiring approximately two hours per survey. After the data were entered, we analyzed it using standard statistical techniques contained in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). We

computed simple frequencies, such as those reported in most of the tables; computed some new variables, such as English proficiency; and explored the relationships between some variables such as English proficiency and ethnicity of teacher. The data and programs for analysis are saved on SERDAC's computer if further analysis is desired.